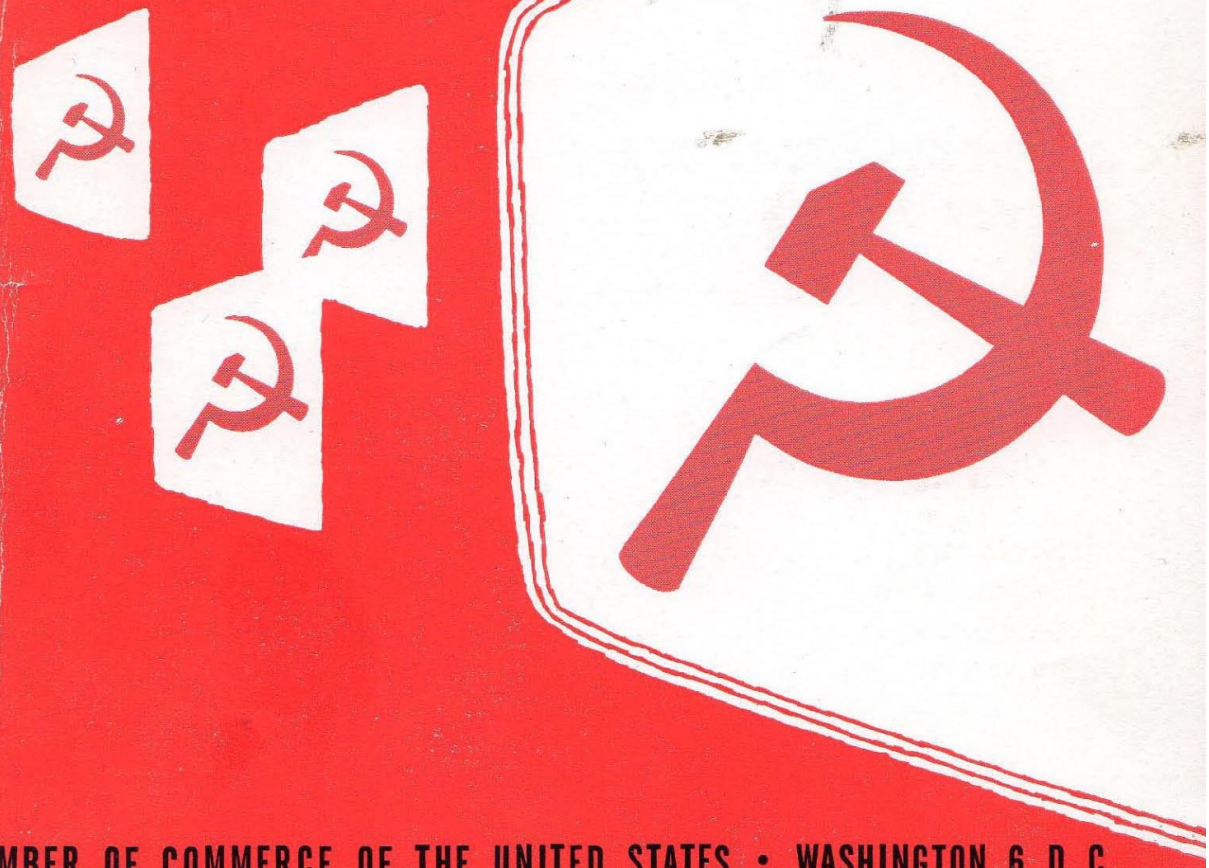
COMMUNISM

Where do we stand today?

A Report of the Committee on Communism



CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES • WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

Do you know of persons who should see

COMMUNISM: WHERE DO WE STAND TODAY?

Additional copies may be ordered from:
ECONOMIC RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
Chamber of Commerce of the United States
Washington 6, D. C.

Single copy	50c each
2–5 copies	40c each
6–49 copies	30c each
50 or more	20c each

COMMUNISM:

Where do we stand today?

A Report of the Committee on Communism

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES
WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

1952

Committee on Communism.

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
AUSTIN, TEXAS

Table of Contents

PAGE

INTRODUCTION v

WORLD COMMUNISM
- The Enemy We Face 4
- Problems Ahead 4
  - Soviet Union 4
  - Western Europe 5
  - The Near East 6
  - The Far East 8
  - Latin America 1
  - The United States 9

THE ENEMY WITHIN
- The American Communist Party 12
- Communists in Government 15
- The Problem Today 16
- Communism in the Labor Movement 23
- Red Controlled Unions 25
- Minority Groups 26
- Blacklisting Communists 19
- "Red Channels" 21
- Teachers 27
- Censorship of Lecturers 29
- What About Dupes? 31
- Opposition from "Liberal" and "Civil Rights" Groups 33
- Are Americans Terrorized? 35
- Checklist on Civil Liberties 38
- What You Should Do 40
- How To Do It 41
- Stay on the Job 43

APPENDIX A—Check of Anticommunist Activities 44
- a. Know Your Enemy 44
- b. Stop, Look and Listen 44
- c. Be Active 45
- d. Suggested Reading 46
  - 1. Newsletters and Magazines 46
  - 2. Pamphlets 47
  - 3. Books 48

APPENDIX B—Socialism: Prelude to Communism? 53

1070191

Introduction

MUCH HAS HAPPENED since 1946, when the Chamber of Commerce of the United States pioneered in warning the nation against the menace of Communism. What was considered sensational then is commonplace today. We were criticized for speaking of Communist infiltration in government. Today everyone knows the story of Hiss, Coplon, Fuchs, and others convicted in courts of law.

We dared to identify Communism in the labor movement. Since then nearly a dozen unions have been expelled from the C.I.O. because of Red affiliations. A similar story could be told of our charges of Communist manipulation of public opinion through "front" organizations and through infiltration in the book, radio, and motion picture fields.

At the time of our writing, many considered it provocative to charge the Soviet Union with subversion, espionage, and imperialist designs. Since then we have had Korea, Indo-China, Malaya, to say nothing of psychological and propaganda warfare in Western Europe and the Near East. Soviet espionage has paid off with atomic explosions in the U. S. S. R. The Baltic and Balkan states are now, with the exception of Yugoslavia, absorbed into the Soviet net. The free world is gripped with anxiety and concern.

Since 1946 we have seen strong reaction against Communism and imperialist Russia. In the foreign field, we have had the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact, intervention in Korea, and aid

to the French in Indo-China. At home, the top Communist leaders were convicted under the Smith Act. There has been an effort to purge the government of loyalty and security risks. The Internal Security Act of 1950 was passed over a Presidential veto.

Public opinion has changed drastically. Many, but not all, known Communists have been cleaned out of radio, motion pictures and book publishing. Our schools and libraries have shown increasing awareness of the Communist problem. The Party itself has suffered. Its finances are low and its membership has declined to a hard-core 35,000. "Front" organizations have harder going, although new groups are constantly being formed.

Real progress has been made. Have we made mistakes in our efforts to fight Communism? At Home? Abroad? What should the next steps be? These, and many similar questions, arise in the minds of thinking people. Because of such questions, we have had many requests to bring up to date the major studies on Communism which we published during the years 1946-1948. This report is in answer to these and other questions.

M. K. M. MURPHY, *Chairman*
Committee on Communism

WORLD COMMUNISM

The Enemy We Face

AS WE ENTER the year 1952, there is only one major threat to world peace and freedom: the international Communist and imperialist movement controlled by Moscow. There is no other political or military threat of consequence to the free nations of the world. If the Soviet Union no longer were a menace, our concern about domestic Communism would be greatly reduced. American Reds could be viewed as a lunatic fringe, a nuisance, trouble makers trying to pull and push us ever to the Left, and they could be dealt with on this basis.

It does not follow from this that the Soviet Union is planning an aggressive war against the United States or against the Atlantic Pact nations. World opinion is sharply divided on this subject. Some doubt that the U. S. S. R. has either the intention or the over-all industrial potential for such a war. There might also be serious problems of morale and even loyalty in Soviet and satellite armies. The more expedient methods of infiltration, subversion, and propaganda warfare might be more appealing to the Kremlin.

A minority takes the view that while Marxist, Leninist, Stalinist and other Communist writings and blueprints call for world revolution, the Russian leaders in the Moscow Politburo in their day-to-day activities and long-range planning have more limited objectives and are very heavily motivated by

(1) feelings of inferiority and immediate insecurity, and
(2) age-old imperialist expansion designs running through several hundred years of Russian history.

This group takes the view that the Soviet Union, whether rationally or not, fears external aggression and is partially motivated by a "Monroe Doctrine" psychology of its own. Further, the Soviet Union now has created a ring of satellites and thereby has been implementing its "Monroe Doctrine," although expan-

sionist plans have not been fully realized. For this reason some argue that it has no early intention, in spite of talk and acts to the contrary, of precipitating a world war or world aggression, and may be open to conversations which would reduce international tensions and fears.

Unquestionably there is some important evidence in support of this minority view. Whether this evidence outweighs the evidence indicating intentions of world conquest is hotly disputed. Certainly no one can be sure. Probably the Politburo itself is weighing alternatives. Neither a third world war, nor the status quo, are attractive solutions to the problem from their point of view or that of the free world.

According to one view, the real issue between the United States and the Soviet Union is not Communism *per se,* but Russian imperialism, pursuing its traditional aims as established through the last 200 years with the aid of a new method, a new instrument of political and military warfare—that is to say, the fifth column of Communist subversion.* This is not merely a matter of semantics. By our assuming that Communism alone is the enemy and that the Soviet leaders are merely trying to bring the "blessings" of Communism to all of the world, we may fail to see clearly the much more prosaic, although somewhat more limited but dangerous, imperialist expansionism of the Soviet Union. "Communist idealism" is thus viewed as a mere cloak, a guise, a ruse skillfully employed by the Russians (and their agents and dupes both here and in other countries) to further imperialist expansionism. This perspective would indicate that native Communist parties were organized throughout the world primarily to help foster opinion favorable to the Politburo plans and to engage in espionage to help further this imperialist expansion.

Whether this view of a somewhat more limited scope of the nature of the Russian menace is correct cannot be conclusively determined. But it does have important implications for our lines of approach both to the Soviet Union itself and to its activities in other countries.

* In this connection, see: *In Defense of the National Interest* by Hans J. Morgenthau, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1951.

It is difficult to reach a firm conclusion in this debate. Certainly continuous study, evaluation and everlasting alertness are required. New meaning needs to be breathed into the wisdom expressed in "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." In view of the revelation of Comintern activities throughout the world, the United States should enforce strict reciprocity with the Soviet Union in regard to the number and freedom of movement of nationals of either country within the other.

Certain additional conclusions, however, should not be overlooked. We should not push rearmament as the sole remedy, to the neglect of even more important political and psychological factors. Nor should we rearm at a pace which would cripple us economically. We should not fasten on Western Europe an armament burden which would disrupt civilian morale and lead to the growth of their domestic Communist parties.

As an illustration, there is the problem of Germany—a key to the balance of power between East and West. The Soviet Union might offer unconditional unity to the German people. The incorporation of the Eastern German zone might well tip the political balance within Germany to the (socialist) Social Democrats. In the short run, this Party would follow a policy of neutrality towards the West. It would urge a disarmed (neutral) Germany. In the longer run, there would be many opportunities to win a united Germany over into the Soviet camp.

Nor should we overlook the danger posed by Socialist parties, whatever their names, in other countries. Major Socialist groups in Italy are allied with the Communists. A militant faction in the British Labor Party has the same mentality. If we push rearmament too fast and too far, we might lose in the political sphere as we gained in military might.

This is not a plea for isolationism or apathy. But it is a call for *total diplomacy.* We must strike a balance between two extremes. One is an unarmed world which invites piecemeal Russian aggression. The other is a frantic militarism which overlooks the political and economic factors needed for a strong, free world. In correcting the tragic mistakes of our postwar diplomacy, we should not swing impulsively to an equally dangerous series of political and economic blunders.

PROBLEMS AHEAD

IN RECONSIDERING POLICY in relation to world Communism and Russian imperialism there should be a careful assessment of the differing situations which confront us in critical areas. Here are a few of the problems we face.

SOVIET UNION: We know that the Soviet Union has an excellent army, first-class weapons, and probably atomic bombs. But does it have the oil and transport needed for a major war which would involve the United States? Could it risk its armies, including the satellites, in such a war, knowing the low state of morale which would probably prevail? Is its industrial potential sufficient for such a war? If the answer to these questions is in the negative, then we are preparing for the wrong kind of war. Assuming that Russia will not dare risk reprisals from us, we do not need to build a colossal military machine here at home or in every non-Communist nation.

A system of firm alliances plus modest rearming of Western Europe is one way of stopping Russia from adventurous conquest. Much more emphasis could be placed on economic reconstruction insofar as we aid Europe and encourage Europeans to aid themselves. There would also be a far greater and more skillful use of political, psychological and propaganda methods to cement the alliances of the free world and to expose Russian imperialist expansionism and capitalize on its blunders.*

WESTERN EUROPE: It is folly to overlook the great areas of "neutralism" in Western Europe. Part of this feeling is engendered by war weariness. Part of it springs from distrust of American policy and diplomacy. Many feel that we are rushing headlong into military preparations which might touch off the unwanted

* That the Soviet Union and other Communist governments make colossal blunders against their own interests has not been sufficiently recognized or exploited. Witness the alienation of Tito. Again, Communist China's demands for money from Chinese in the United States, in Southeast Asia and elsewhere (under pain of threat to their relatives) has backfired and ought to be capitalized upon.

war. This does not mean that they oppose rearmament. But they fear the extent and methods of our preparations.

There is little surplus fat in Western Europe to permit the luxury of large armies. It will take decades fully to repair the destruction of the recent war. In many countries Socialism or considerable detailed over-all economic planning is holding back economic progress. The initiative and productive energies of the people are not given free rein. Living standards for millions are at the subsistence level. Hope is blighted. Further sacrifices would inevitably drive many into the already large Communist and Socialist parties. It would seem the part of wisdom, given these trends, not to overlook the political and economic problems of Europe. Heavy emphasis upon the military may well backfire.

THE NEAR EAST: We have been done one disservice as a result of indiscriminate emphasis upon Communist penetration of the Department of State. Attention has been centered upon a debatable and difficult charge, to the neglect of the more easily proved issue of incompetence. This is particularly true with reference to the Near East. The troubles in Iran and Egypt, for example, were complex in origin. But they have been dangerously aggravated by our diplomatic failures. In some cases we were far too slow in acting; in others our intervention was precipitate and ill-considered. Too often our welfare abroad was sacrificed to obtain partisan political advantages here at home, as *The Forrestal Diaries* have shown. Our Palestine policy has alienated the entire Arab world. Charles Malik, U. N. delegate from Lebanon, states that our prestige in the Middle East is at an all-time low.

Once again we have made it easy for Soviet maneuvering and subversion. There are profound religious barriers between the people of Islam and the Soviet Union. The soil of the Near East should indeed be arid in regard to Communist propaganda. But our inept political moves have led to the growth of a violent anti-American and anti-Western sentiment. In such muddied waters, the Russian Bear is adept at fishing.

In the face of these mass movements, we must remember that there is no easy solution. On the one hand, to promise democracy

to a people before they are prepared to exercise it is only to foster a reign of demagogues or terrorists. On the other hand, to ignore the rising nationalism everywhere in the modern world would be a dangerous type of blindness. Nor can we buy friendship by reckless grants of economic aid. We face rather a much harder task of intelligent cooperation with these peoples, of assisting their rise towards freedom and democracy and better living standards, and of treating them with dignity and genuine friendliness. A "rich uncle" form of patronizing aid is practically valueless. Our past policies in the Near East have often lacked the intelligent realism so badly needed in this seething ferment.

THE FAR EAST: Here likewise it is difficult to draw the line between treason and blundering on the part of certain individuals in our government. On the one hand, in the light of the Amerasia and Hiss cases, only the most naïve could believe that there was no Communist influence on our Far Eastern policy. The current efforts to rewrite history in the approved Orwellian fashion* would have us believe that the Department of State has been consistently and violently opposed to the Communists in Asia. In the face of top-level official policy statements, which ranged from bored neutrality to strong opposition to Nationalist China, the recent defense insults American intelligence.

On the other hand, whatever the motivation, the most easily proved charge is one of incompetence. It is not necessary to indulge in guesses as to what might have happened, had our policy been different. The critical fact is that 400 million Chinese were taken over by Communism without any proportional reaction by our officials. War was precipitated in 1941, at least in part, by our insistence upon a free China. But China was left to Red slavery in the postwar period without even the decencies of a full public debate on our interests in the matter in spite of the efforts of men like Congressman Walter Judd and former Ambassador William C. Bullitt, and particularly by the now public reports of G2, that is, Army Intelligence.

* In George Orwell's novel, *Nineteen Hundred and Eighty-Four,* (Harcourt, Brace and Co.) one of the most important activities of a Communist dictatorship was the rewriting of history.

Our intervention in Korea was likewise a bloody aftermath to a blunder. First we invited Red aggression by proclaiming our disinterest in Korea. Then we reacted by undeclared war. At this writing we are at war with Red China, in fact if not formally. We have accepted Stalin's gambit of a war of attrition, as if our manpower could match the limitless millions under Red control. By this process of attrition, Russia may win the war in Korea without committing her own Nationals or depleting her natural resources.

Other cases could be cited of confusion and incompetence. When President Quirino of the Philippines came here in 1949 to ask for an anti-Communist alliance he was given the cold shoulder. Instead we chose to rely upon the weak reed of India. In projecting economic aid to Asia to offset "stomach" Communism, we dallied with grandiose and expensive projects. The relatively simple and inexpensive forms of technical assistance were often passed by.

Probably the greatest weakness in the Western approach to the Oriental is psychological. A conscious or unconscious patronizing attitude seems to pervade dealings with the Asiatic. Even when the Western nations ask the aid of the Asiatic nations in stemming the advance of Communism, the latter are given the role of junior partner. For example, France was slow in providing the Vietnamese with arms, and Britain as yet has not provided the Chinese in Singapore with arms for defending themselves.

By contrast, the Communists appeal to the dignity and pride of these sensitive peoples. The Communists *promise* them freedom and achievement and, as a result, are winning the propaganda war, especially among the better educated Orientals.*

While the psychological approach of the United States has not been as clumsy as that of some of our allies since we have not been involved with traditional colonial problems, we cannot

* Once the Communists have taken over, they need not make good on their promises; police state methods keep them in control. Russian agents in China as well as the Chinese Communists are alienating many natives by their ruthless practices. See in this connection: *Brain-Washing in Red China,* listed in Appendix A.

insist too strongly that, in all our forms of psychological warfare, we achieve real understanding of the peoples we would influence. Lack of this understanding has been one of the greatest weaknesses of American diplomacy, quite apart from any Communist influences in the Department of State.

LATIN AMERICA: At this writing, Communists in Latin America are relatively quiet. But lack of public activity does not mean that they are sleeping. On the contrary they have real power in sixteen Latin American countries. Their greatest recent success has been in Guatemala, but they are a force in Brazil, Chile, Venezuela, Colombia and Argentina. The fact that the Party is illegal in many Latin-American countries is not always a barrier to action by Communists. They simply work under another name and form a broad front with nationalist and other dissatisfied groups. Their appeal is for national independence from foreign capital, democracy, agrarian reform, social justice, and peace. They try to offer some bait to workers, farmers, intellectuals, and even conservative nationalists. The ultimate aim is to promote anti-United States sentiment and break up the unity of the Latin republics.

A particularly dangerous phase of the movement involves the operations of Vincente Lombardo Toledano, Stalin's labor boss in Latin America. His Latin American Confederation of Labor (CTAL) endeavors to promote the Communist line and aims among the working classes. Fortunately, it is now opposed by the Latin-American group of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. But the struggle is bitter and the victory of free unions is by no means assured.

The Communists hope to secure mass support among discontented workers and farmers, so as to neutralize Latin-American production of vital raw materials in case of war between the Soviet Union and the United States. But their greatest effort is to win over the intellectuals whose nationalist feeling is strong. By opposing the Monroe Doctrine and the alleged exploitation by American capital, Communists have succeeded in gaining many supporters from this powerful group. Their propaganda is well financed and ably led by hundreds of expert Soviet agents.

In the face of this struggle, the United States has tended to neglect Latin America, because of the pressure of events elsewhere. There are economic dislocations arising from world shortages. Raw materials, finished products, and economic assistance under our control have been diverted to Europe or Asia. Many of these troubles are inevitable. But there are other ways of winning and retaining Latin American confidence and cooperation, the most important of which is psychological. The Latins, like the Orientals, have suffered from cultural affronts. An attitude of genuine partnership, based on real equality, in all our relationships—diplomatic, commercial, and cultural—might pay more dividends than billions in economic grants.

THE UNITED STATES: Our greatest need in the struggle against world Communism is consistent policy and competent diplomacy.* Our inconsistency has disturbed foreign offices throughout the world. Many nations hesitate to trust us simply because they are not sure where we are going. Our abrupt switch from "appeasement" to "containment" of Russia in 1947 is but one illustration of this point. It does not comfort our allies to know that the same officials who sponsored one policy are now second guessing on the other.

Now is the time to reappraise both the problem and our resources for meeting it. If we believe that our economic capacity is unlimited, our allies know that theirs are not.** If Russia lacks the economic potential for a major war within the next two decades, we need not prepare for such a war. Our task rather would be to develop the ability to visit such atomic reprisals that no war would start. Then the free world could concentrate upon diplomatic, economic, and psychological measures needed to contain the more dangerous weapons of Communist subversion.

At the risk of repetition, we have much to learn along the lines of diplomatic and psychological warfare against Communism.

* For an analysis of our mistakes for which we will pay dearly in the indefinite future see: *The Great Mistakes of the War* by Hanson Baldwin, Harper and Bros., New York, 1950.

** For the limits on our own economy, see: *How Much Can Our Economy Stand?*, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington 6, D. C., 1951.

This is not said in a spirit of captious criticism. After all, we have been in a position of world leadership for the relatively short space of about six years. We are facing for the first time problems which other nations have been confronted with for centuries. They have had the time and experience to build up contacts and personnel adequate to the task. We seem to think that our idealism is self-evident and that good will alone can make up for lack of diplomatic competence.

If only we would acknowledge our weakness, we could then set about remedying it. We have Americans who have had success in their dealings abroad. Many businessmen, missionaries, and teachers have won the respect and friendship of the peoples with whom they dealt. We should make better use of former Communists, now willing to serve freedom and democracy and American political and economic institutions.* These persons could be used as advisers to the Voice of America and other State Department activities. With more finesse, we would not have the experience of having relatively idealistic moves, such as the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact, and the Korean intervention, perverted as imperialistic tricks. We would win spontaneous cooperation, not merely reluctant allies.

In all of this we must test our every action by our own security, both short run and more important, the longer run. A useful rule to check wishful thinking is the adage: In international relations there are no friendships; there are only interests.

While preaching and propaganda, military and economic aid and other devices may have some influence on foreign peoples, *unless they clearly see and deeply feel a mutuality of interests with us, or can be made to do so, our chances of cementing useful and dependable allies is largely futile and reliance on the effort can become even dangerous.* Only after we have reasonably firm confidence, following the most critical review, that any

* Here great care must be exercised. Many ex-Communists are merely anti-Stalinists, but remain collectivist-minded. Such persons are not likely to further our cause and may only confuse. See Appendix B in this connection.

proposed action on our part will lead in desired directions should we go ahead.*

One course we know is essential: We must keep our foreign policy determinations free from foreign propaganda, from the influence of domestic Communists and fellow travelers, and make sure that the State Department and other government bureaus are staffed by the most competent people and beyond question as to loyalty. Provision should be made to recruit, train and keep in the service competent people with the capacity to see the long as well as the short-run implications of their actions.

* This warning has now also been sounded by George F. Kennan in *American Diplomacy 1900-50*. Kennan, as a former head of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, is generally credited with blueprinting our Soviet "containment" policy which began with the aid to Greece and Turkey in 1947. Now his disillusionment appears deep. He chides our shallow self-righteousness toward foreign nations, and our overemotionalism. He contrasts the earlier successful diplomacy of other nations with our "legalistic-moralistic" approach. He sees no easy solutions.

THE ENEMY WITHIN

The American Communist Party

As we face the menace from abroad, we have in our midst a domestic group linked intimately with the Soviet Union. It is hardly necessary today to prove (as it was in our earlier reports) that the American Communist Party is closely controlled by the world Communist movement centered in Moscow. The espionage revelations, the highly useful and significant testimony of former Communists, and many careful studies of the Party Line have shown this control to be absolute.

The legal status of Communists and Communism has changed materially and the weapons for dealing with them have been greatly strengthened.

The prosecution and conviction of the Communist leaders resulted in opinions of the federal courts which upheld the validity of the laws under which these men were prosecuted, and legally established the character of the activities of the Communists and that their activities were unlawful.*

The Internal Security Act of 1950 describes with considerable detail the character of the world Communist movement, its control by foreign agents, its purposes, and the Communist fronts. The laws dealing with treason, sedition, etc. have been amended and improved so that they now provide fines and imprisonment for one who advocates the overthrow or destruction of the government of the United States, or of any state or local government, or who engages in activities to bring this about.

The National Labor Relations Law has been amended so that it denies the right to use the legal processes of that law to any labor organization which fails to file affidavits showing that its officers, or the officers of its parent union, are free from Communist affiliation or belief, and stating that they do not support

* United States v. Foster, 80 Federal Supplement 479 (October 22, 1948), and Dennis v. United States, 71 Supreme Court Reporter 857 (June 4, 1951).

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
AUSTIN, TEXAS

any organization which believes in or teaches the overthrow of the United States Government by force or by any illegal method.

The American Bar Association in February, 1951, adopted three formal resolutions, the first, to expel from its membership any individual who is a member of the Communist Party of the United States or who advocates Marxism-Leninism; the second resolution recommends that all state and local bar associations expel such persons from membership; and the third recommends that all state and local bar associations and appropriate authorities immediately commence disciplinary actions for disbarment of all lawyers who are members of the Communist Party of the United States or who advocate Marxism-Leninism.*

It thus has been made crystal clear that Communism is not an ideology at all, rather it is a criminal and treasonous conspiracy directed from a foreign country, and that it is aimed at the destruction of our constitutional government.

The Party has been weakened in such important fields as labor, minorities, publishing, and the entertainment industries. It has suffered in prestige and has lost both funds and membership. At present it is mainly an underground organization. But it is by no means inactive. Its scattered members are reappearing in "front" organizations, labor groups, and similar places in order to push the program of the Party. They are particularly active in the "civil rights" field, trying to discredit as violating our rights and liberties any attempt to curb Communism.**

The present membership of the Party may be considered as 35,000. There probably has been an even more drastic shrinkage in the group of confirmed fellow travelers. It has been estimated that there were ten fellow travelers or dupes for each Communist available to do the work of the Party. In the 1948 elections, the Communist-guided Progressive Party polled votes at a ratio

* See also: *Brief on Communism: Marxism-Leninism, Its Aims, Purposes, Objectives and Practices* with *Reports and Recommendations of the Special Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy and Objectives,* American Bar Association, September, 1951.

** "Fronts" are devices organized by the Communists to enlist sympathizers, fellow travelers and naïve liberals to do their bidding. Usually these "fronts" have an appealing name, from an emotional standpoint, and an apparently humanitarian purpose—but no honesty of purpose.

1070191

of fifteen to one, in relation to Communist Party members at that time. Today, however, it is highly improbable that even the lower figure would obtain. All available evidence indicates that fellow travelers and dupes have been either disillusioned or frightened away in droves.*

It would be premature to rejoice in this shrinkage as if the fight were over. The hard core of fanatical Communists has been fighting back with tenacity and skill. Thus, they have exercised unprecedented pressure against the judiciary in regard to Smith Act prosecutions. They have raised such a hue and cry in the fields of civil liberties and academic freedom (thought control) that they are often being sheltered rather than prosecuted. Their incessant propaganda for peace, Soviet style, is taking in some dupes. Even in late 1951, some metropolitan newspapers reported the proceedings of a new Negro "front" organization with little insight into the real nature of the meeting. Finally, Communists still have important toeholds in the labor movement.

In two respects our domestic situation has been made more difficult. First, because of the action taken against the Communist conspiracy, its activities are now more largely carried on through ostensibly non-Communist individuals and organizations. This makes counteraction more difficult. Second, the prompt legal counterattacks in the form of libel suits and other harassing and expensive litigation are being used successfully by the Communist party to intimidate and silence all possible opposition.

The Communists are always fully mobilized. Before we become complacent about their membership losses and their small numbers, we should examine their current areas of effectiveness. Above all, they are energetic, disciplined, and cleverly guided.

* Yet it cannot be ignored that we have in our midst several hundred thousand former Communist Party members. A minority of these are known to have made a complete switch and are thoroughly loyal and in a few cases strong anti-Communist fighters. We have research funds and programs to investigate almost everything under the sun, but little attempt has been made to study these former Communist Party members: why they joined, educational level, age, I.Q., what they did, how deeply they were involved, why and when they left the Party, what they are now doing, etc.

As against 35,000 Communists, how many loyal Americans do we have, outside of government posts, who devote a corresponding amount of time, money, and energy to fighting this subversive movement? What trained and competent central direction is available for patriots who wish to fight Communism? Has anything been done along the lines of our earlier recommendation for a well endowed, highly competent, impartial national research center to collect and distribute information about our greatest enemy? It is not yet time for complacency.

Communists in Government

FEW AMERICANS TODAY would question the danger of having Communists, or their sympathizers and dupes, in government positions. This applies especially to the so-called sensitive positions, those which influence policy or which might be useful for espionage. But we should not have Communists in any government position. They are adept at shifting to "more useful" positions, as has been proved by recent revelations. The present policy of full exclusion is wise.

Likewise, there is little question that Communists had in the past secured vital government posts. Some could influence policy. Others were in key espionage positions. Quite apart from the sensational revelations of Chambers, Bentley, Fuchs and the Coplon trials, there are a large number of well documented cases involving lesser officials. The cumulative impact of these cases is fully as great as those involving top personalities.

As an illustration of the situation, Vice-President Barkley said on August 24, 1951 that between 2,500 and 3,500 persons have been dismissed or resigned as a result of loyalty investigations. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover was more precise, in his March, 1951 testimony before the Senate Appropriations Committee. He stated then that 304 persons had been dismissed and 2,991 had resigned under investigation. The actual figures of disloyalty would run considerably higher than this for two reasons. First, there were a significant number of resignations prior to actual loyalty investigation. Secondly, until 1951 the Loyalty Review Board could

only consider evidence of present disloyalty. It could not itself dismiss past Communists as reasonably doubtful in loyalty.

In one well known case, an official was cleared by the Board although strong evidence existed of his past Communist affiliations. Subsequently this official was convicted of perjury in connection with his denial of Communist ties. His conviction was set aside by higher courts, for technical reasons, but he has been reindicted on other charges of perjury in the same connection. Quite apart from the merits of this case, it is evident that past Loyalty Review Board screening has not been foolproof. The total number of cases considered by loyalty boards, as of late 1951, was over 16,000, with over 2,000 pending.

It has been the practice to play down the importance of loyalty and security cases, because the total affected has been an insignificant fraction of the total number of government employees. Such a practice ignores two significant facts. First, there is the tendency of Communists to gravitate towards positions important in regard to espionage or influencing policy. Second, there is the question of the appointment-pattern affecting these officials. Non-Communist officials who have a record of making numerous such appointments show grave deficiencies in judgment.

The Problem Today

PERHAPS THE GREATEST need in regard to Communists in government is a need for full realization of its seriousness. When our previous publication on this subject, *Communists Within the Government,* appeared in 1947, its relatively moderate statements and recommendations were greeted with broad skepticism by public officials. Its withdrawal from circulation was requested by a Cabinet officer. Later there followed the "red herring" and "I will not turn my back" statements from highest sources. A belated loyalty program, with serious defects, was begun in 1947. The general atmosphere was one of grudging admittance of the problem, usually after extreme Congressional pressure. Remedial measures were hesitant and only partly effective. There has been

no sense of urgency or decisiveness, as would befit such a grave problem, in any actions taken to date.

The same apologetic attitude obtained in regard to officials who, to put it mildly, were mistaken in regard to Russia and Communism. Thus, it is public knowledge that during World War II, there were two schools of thought in the Department of State regarding Communism. One group distrusted it; the other, if it did not favor it, at least held that we could work with it. Many of the former group were pressured out of public life. Some were sent to diplomatic posts, safely away from policy-making positions in Washington. The group which favored appeasement of Russia and Communism held the balance of power within the State Department.

When the pressure of events, and Congressional pressure, forced a new policy towards Russia, the same team remained to administer the new policy. Some obvious Communists were discharged. Others were eased out of Washington or permitted to resign. But the basic group of confused and muddled liberals, who proved themselves completely wrong in working out a postwar policy, remained to administer cold war policies. It is no wonder that a widespread public distrust has existed in regard to the Department of State.

One reaction to the general situation has been a series of laws requiring the Federal Bureau of Investigation to undertake original applicant checks for certain extremely sensitive jobs. This applies, for example, to the Voice of America, the Economic Cooperation Administration (Mutual Security Agency), and certain Atomic Energy personnel. Such a policy has had the unfortunate effect of overburdening the F.B.I. and making it more difficult for it to function effectively in its own proper fields. It would seem that national security would be better served, in the long run, were we to return to traditional procedures. The normal process is for Civil Service or the employing agency to check a prospective employee's record for suitability. As part of this check, the indexes of the intelligence agencies are consulted. Should any derogatory information be obtained, then the F.B.I. is informed and an appropriate loyalty investigation is instituted. Thus the Bureau would not be impeded in its own

proper field of security and loyalty work by a heavy burden of suitability investigations.

It is disquieting to read of speeches given by departmental loyalty board heads, especially in the Department of State, boasting that their investigations have turned up no "present Communists." Such talk seems to reflect a pathetic anxiety not to find Communists. They indicate a political orientation in these boards, rather than a profound desire to seek national security. It is not so much the technical accuracy of such statements that is to be questioned—they do becloud the fact that many Communists or fellow travelers have been permitted or forced to resign—as the mentality behind them. A board that seems anxious to maintain a spotless record of never finding Communists in its department may not be the most reliable defender of national security.

Thus, the greatest present weakness in our loyalty program lies in the departmental and agency loyalty boards. They constitute the original trial court of persons whose loyalty is suspect. While the Loyalty Review Board postaudits their decisions, until recently such checks have been routine verification of procedures. Until December 1951, the Board rarely made a substantive review of lower board decisions, when the verdict was favorable to the employee or applicant. As a result, the really critical decisions have been made by boards, many of which are incompetently staffed.

There is no central determination of standards for the selection of such board personnel. Hence a department or agency head is free to appoint persons who may not understand the problem or who may be muddled and confused in their own sympathies. Thus, Communists or doubtfully loyal persons may be coddled at the very time that other officials, in the tax or money-lending fields, are summarily dismissed for questionable associations.

Reasonable procedures could insure competence in the handling of loyalty investigations. Professionally trained personnel would assemble the necessary data. If the loyalty boards were permitted to disbar genuine security risks as well as proved Communists or doubtfully loyal persons, then we could be sure

that government service would be protected. Where there is doubt, the security of the nation must be given priority. No individual has the right to a government job. A person whose record shows at least bad judgment, such as by persistent joining of Communist "fronts" and association with Communist causes, should not be entrusted with public office.

Communism in the Labor Movement

A MAJOR PURGE OF Communists in the labor movement was attempted in 1950, when the C.I.O. expelled member unions clearly under Red control. But for the most part these unions are still functioning. Competing unions were chartered by the C.I.O. and raiding was begun. Nevertheless, the Communists retained their grip in many industries. On occasion, they have succeeded in winning back locals which had transferred to the new C.I.O. unions. They are particularly well entrenched in the fields of nonferrous mining, shipping, communications, electronics and electrical and farm machinery production.

The present situation is dangerous for two primary reasons. First, controlled labor unions are important sources of finances for the Communist Party.* As other sources of funds dry up, the unions will be even more important as a prop for Communist activities. The second, and vital, reason lies in the strategic nature of the industries affected by Communist-led unions. They furnish dangerous opportunities for espionage and sabotage.** Thus, the 1951 copper strike cost us heavily in a critically short metal. A West-Coast shipping tie-up would be disastrous for the war effort in Korea. Communications leaks or tie-ups would likewise be serious. Finally, interference with electronic or electrical-goods production could cripple the rearmament effort.

---

* See *Counterattack*, February 4, 1949, for a list of open donations to Communist "fronts" from one small Communist union.

** See: *Sabotage and Plant Protection*, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington 6, D. C., 1951.

The situation is so potentially dangerous that a counterattack on many fronts is needed. This would involve action by government, by labor, by industry, and by citizens generally. It would be most imprudent to permit the problem to drift until disaster struck.

From the viewpoint of government, it would be necessary to amend or clarify the Taft-Hartley Act so as to deny the assistance of the law to Communist-controlled unions. Section 9 (h) of the law requires an annual non-Communist affidavit from each official of a local and each official of its parent organization. It would be possible for a Communist official to submit a *pro forma* letter of resignation and still remain subject to Party discipline. Since the proof that even one national officer perjured himself would debar all locals from NLRB facilities, it should not be too difficult for the Department of Justice to prove that any purported resignation was not *bona fide*. For absolute safety, however, it might be well to amend the law, tightening the definitions and providing for definite enforcement procedure to test the validity of such oaths.

Non-Communist labor unions and industry could do much to weaken the power of Communists by cooperative action. In the first place, there should be concerted efforts to keep Communists out of unions which they do not presently control. A simple device would be a collective-bargaining clause which permits the discharge of any worker who is a Communist or who continues to engage in pro-Communist activities.* Many employers today are bound by contract to submit protested discharge cases to grievance procedure. Unions have sometimes defended discharged Communists and arbitrators have upheld the claim. It would be to the advantage of both parties to agree not to contest such cases. An additional safeguard would be an amendment of the Taft-Hartley Act, Section 8, to permit a union to expel and demand the discharge of a Communist member under a union-shop contract.

Groups which do not have a direct economic interest in labor-management relations can often help by promoting non-Communist leadership in labor unions. Thus, churches could inspire their members to train for officer status in unions. Church or school groups could have adult-education courses in parliamentary procedure, public speaking, and labor law and practice so that potential leaders could receive the necessary background. In fact, Communist techniques are so similar in many fields that a knowledge of parliamentary procedure would be useful for a wide range of citizens.*

* For tests which indicate pro-Communist activities, see our earlier publications, *Communists Within the Government* and *Communists Within the Labor Movement.*

Red-Controlled Unions

SUGGESTIONS FOR PREVENTING Communist infiltration and control do not meet the pressing problem of presently Red-dominated unions. In general, there is little to be added to the suggestions given in our earlier study, *Communists Within the Labor Movement.* Today employers particularly should feel more free to express their views on this subject, under the free speech clauses of the Taft-Hartley Act. Accordingly, it is not necessary to repeat here suggestions given in detail earlier. A few current problems, however, should be noted.

First, the question is often asked: Why do workers vote for Communist unions? It is felt that at the present time everyone should be aware which unions are Red. Likewise they should know that such leadership would be suicidal in a world so divided as it is today. Why, then, are such leaders often voted in by huge majorities?

The answer to the above question must be complex. One important point is the technical competence of some Communist union leaders. While Communist control in the long run is bound to ruin a union, it often happens that individual Communist leaders are aggressive and skillful. In the language of the worker:

*A recognition of the theory that sound democratic practices would prevent Communist control is found in the union contract signed by Allis-Chalmers and the UAW. The contract provides for secret elections for union officials, to be held on Company property and in working hours. It is assumed that if all members vote, it would be very unlikely that Communists could gain control.

They deliver the goods. They are constantly raising issues and persuading the workers that they are militant fighters for labor's claims. On the other side of the picture, it is often difficult to convince workers that their leaders are actually Communists or their tools. The union members suspect other unions of being interested primarily in raiding. They think that the employer might be likely to attempt union-busting. Hence they are reluctant to believe charges of Communist control.

Secondly, as noted in our earlier study, the Communist clique is entrenched by expert political-machine devices. It is not easy for an untrained worker to fight such clever officials. "You cannot beat somebody with nobody." It takes time and patience to train non-Communist workers to form an effective faction and ultimately to take over a local union. They need outside help from other labor leaders and from economically disinterested citizens and groups. It is a long-term task, not a subject for a quick organizing campaign by a raiding union.

Another current problem of some importance concerns alleged employer attitudes. It has been asserted that some employers are not interested in fighting Communists within unions. They are said to feel that they can have easier contracts, in exchange for giving union recognition to a Red local. Or it is charged that they prefer factionalism, since it weakens a union. Hence, the story goes, they take refuge in a legalistic neutrality which enables the Communists to retain control.

This charge, if true, is very serious. An employer in a war-production industry would be contributing to potential sabotage, were he to aid a Red local. Any employer would be extremely short-sighted in terms of his own economic interests, if he traded short-term gains offered by Communists for the long-term danger of political strikes, slow-downs, impaired morale, and constant bickering and name-calling. For these reasons, any outside observer is likely to be skeptical of such charges, especially when they emanate from union officials who failed to win over a local union to their cause.

At the same time, it is quite possible that many employers do not realize their power to influence the allegiance of the workers. This is done, not so much through general pronouncements, but

as a result of a highly capable industrial relations team. Such a team, working with and through line management, can keep very close watch on worker morale and attitudes. Even more, it can influence workers' views. If this team can spot and reward sound, constructive leadership, especially at the shop steward level, it can slowly but definitely aid in building non-Communist leadership in a plant. Details on this program were given in our previous study.

Unless such action is taken, we can expect continuous sabotage, in the guise of economic issues, by the Communist-led unions. Many workers are restive under wage stabilization and similar control measures. It would not be too difficult for Communist leadership to provoke crippling strikes, without the slightest hint of their ultimate political objectives.

Minority Groups

A SPECIALIZED BUT often important phase of Communist work is among minority groups. Communists attempt to capitalize upon difficulties felt at times by those who feel discrimination because of their race, religion, culture or national origin. At one time or other special appeals have been made to Negroes, Jews, Catholic laity (to separate them from the clergy); Protestant clergymen (on the peace issue); Eastern Europeans; Asiatics; and so forth. Special Communist branches and publications exist for this type of work. Certain illustrations drawn from this diversified activity might be useful.

With Negroes, the emphasis is upon any kind of injustice which they may suffer. The Communist press is filled with stories of discrimination. In 1951 a new front organization for Negroes was organized. On the other side of the picture, the Communists are silent about the real gains made by Negroes in recent decades.* It has been proved that Communists have often blocked measures which would aid the Negroes. They

* For an account of these gains see "The Phantom American Negro," by George S. Schuyler, *The Freeman,* April 23, 1951.

prefer grievances rather than solutions.* Nevertheless, their success is negligible. The American Negro has little affinity for Communism. More serious harm has been done by Communist propaganda broadcasts to the Orient, stressing racial discrimination here. At a time when Asian nationalism is on the rise, such distorted propaganda has hurt the American cause.

The Communists tried two tactics in the effort to win friends in the Jewish community. Starting in 1935, they favored united-front measures against Hitler. They posed as leaders in the struggle against the world-wide symbol of persecution of minorities. However, the Hitler-Stalin alliance in 1939 disposed of this myth. A second approach was the boast that no racial, religious or cultural discrimination existed in Russia. Hence Communism was pictured as an ideal for minority groups. With the tight censorship existing in Russia, this myth gained credence even among many teachers, clergymen and writers who otherwise had no particular pro-Communist biases. It was repeated as axiomatic in numerous scholarly publications. Certain students noted, however, that the 1937-1938 purges appeared anti-Semitic. Practically all top Jewish Communists were removed from office and most of them were killed. Later, when the war permitted more freedom of communication with Russia, it was discovered that widespread anti-Semitism existed in Russia. Jewish scholars today have so well documented the case for persecution, both

* How do we know this to be true? Here we deal with motivations. But there is much proof which has not been adequately researched and publicized. Whatever one thinks about the wisdom of Fair Employment Practices laws, Communists always "favor" them. But most other proponents of such laws have learned long ago that Communists do *not* want such laws. They want the credit for fighting for them, but they secretly sabotage the effort at the same time. They do this by making impossible demands, by insulting legislators, parading their support so as to give "the kiss of death," etc. The *Daily Worker* (Communist) makes no favorable mention of any existing antidiscrimination law. Thus, the capitalist newspapers will carry news items about the annual reports of the New York or Massachusetts Commissions, but the *Daily Worker* will be silent. Those who have been in the fight are able to supply many similar instances of Communist insincerity on the race question.

in Russia and the satellites, that the old lures of Communism fall completely flat.*

Communist appeals to other minority groups are currently equally unsuccessful. This is particularly true with immigrants from Eastern Europe or their descendants. The facts about conditions behind the Iron Curtain are too well known to permit any really successful propaganda now.

Blacklisting Communists

TO MAKE OUR POSITION completely clear, it would be well to summarize our views on the employment of Communists and the various fringes of fellow travelers and dupes. It is public policy that Communists should not be employed by the government. We believe further that they should not be employed in the following categories of private business: any plant large enough to have a labor union; any school or university; any agency which influences public opinion, such as newspapers, radio, television, book and magazine publishing, and research institutions; and any field which gives prestige and high salaries to Communists, such as the entertainment field.

Communists, because of their potentialities for disrupting labor-management relations, should not be employed where a labor union exists or is possible. They should not be hired as actors, script writers or in similar positions in the entertainment fields because they acquire prestige and funds for Communist causes. In fact, controlled labor unions and the entertainment field have been two of the major sources of revenue for the American Communist Party. The millions that the Party has poured into front organizations, its hundreds of publications, and its expensive legal cases have come largely from these sources. Over three hundred Hollywood figures were named as Communists in the 1951 investigations. Add to this Communist writers and radio artists, and one can understand why the Party has millions to spend.

* See Solomon N. Schwarz, *The Jews In the Soviet Union*, Syracuse, N. Y., Syracuse University Press.

Communists, because of their deceitful and conspiratorial methods of propaganda, should not be used by any agency which influences public opinion—at least not without full understanding and disclosure of the partisan views of the person so used. We have no desire to stifle freedom of thought and honest discussion of Communist theory and opinions but it should be in the open. We cannot blind ourselves to the infiltrating tactics of Communists in opinion-influencing agencies. They will not indulge in fair debate or open expression of views, once they control an apparently objective group or publication. They will present their own distortions or fabrications in the guise of objective study.

"Red Channels"

A SPECIAL PROBLEM ARISES in regard to so-called blacklists in the entertainment field. Much furor and considerable unfair reporting has occurred over the publication of Counterattack's *Red Channels*. This book showed Communist influence in the entertainment field, by listing documented "front" and Communist affiliations of many persons in the entertainment world. One of the announced purposes of the book was "to discourage actors and artists from naively lending their names to Communist organizations and causes in the future." As a result of this publication, several well known artists were refused employment. It is alleged that the book is used as an unofficial blacklist in the entertainment field, although many persons listed still keep their lucrative employment.*

The attack on this book, in certain circles, made much of the alleged unsubstantiated mass of rumor and gossip which it was

*Membership lists and membership cards in the Communist Party are not available. Communists are frequently pledged to deny or disavow membership in the Party, even to the extent of denying it under oath, and adopt methods of concealment to spread its poison. Hence, the only alternative to those combatting Communism is to list the Communist and "front" affiliations of individuals in the entertainment field who have, wittingly or unwittingly, aided Communist organizations and causes, to bring their activities out into the open.

alleged to contain. This was plain bad reporting. The listings of "front" connections with each name were factual, with the source indicated. More controversial, naturally, was the alleged indiscriminate use of the book as an automatic blacklist. In this regard, many factors must be noted. For example, the very nature of Communist "fronts" is such that innocents are snared. Membership in itself, as the preface to *Red Channels* noted, may not indicate belief in or sympathy with the causes concerned. Entertainers are under great pressure to join worthy causes, and many were merely careless in allowing the use of their names in the promotion of "fronts."

On the other hand, it is a fact that support from the entertainment field has helped immensely in Communist causes. Subsequent revelations have proved that many persons were far from innocent in their support of Communism. In fact, there is proof that a Communist blacklist of anti-Communist artists has been more widespread and effective than the reverse type of blacklist. Admittedly the task of distinguishing between dupes and real sympathizers calls for expert evaluation. It could not be done by the untrained employer merely from a factual list, such as *Red Channels*.

Two recommendations may be offered. First, American business should make it crystal clear that it is not giving direct or indirect financial support to Communism by employing artists who contribute to Communist causes. No excuses should be offered for this attitude. It is not penalizing persons for their "political" views. It is simply denying indirect financial aid to a movement which is essentially treason. But, as a second point, persons who have repudiated Communism and who have shown their present strong opposition to it should not be penalized for past mistakes. Such persons now should know enough to look before they sign.

Teachers

THE SAME OBJECTION applies to Communists as teachers or librarians. We strongly favor freedom of thought and expression. But this is precisely the objection to the Communist teacher:

he is not free to think. As a party member he gives up devotion to truth and becomes a slave to predetermined policy. The very traditions of academic freedom which we uphold should cause exclusion of Communists from teaching positions. We try to insulate our schools from outside pressure groups which might force political or economic conformism upon them. Yet no outside pressure group in the political or economic sphere can compare to the dictation exercised by the Communist Party upon its members.

These principles should apply equally to non-Party Communists or genuine fellow travelers. A Communist by conviction and practice differs little from a dues-paying member; in many ways he is more dangerous. Naturally such a charge should not be lightly made. But when we observe, even at this late date, hundreds of teachers and professors as persistent signers of scarcely disguised Communist petitions or as members of newly formed "front" organizations, we wonder at the standards of academic competence which prevail in many of our "better" schools and universities. Schools which would never tolerate a religious bigot, an anti-Semite, or a proponent of Nazism or Fascism seem proud to flaunt their "broadmindedness" in regard to Communist fellow travelers.

The "pall of dreary conformism" allegedly hanging over our schools and universities has not originated in any so-called anti-Communist hysteria. Conformism often existed, but it was a different type. It was the fear that many professors and students felt, over the years, that they would not be regarded as "liberal" were they to tell the truth about Communism, Socialism, and Statism. Slipshod thinking in the fields of economics and politics, perversion of facts in favor of Russia, the implications that ends justify means in social planning, all these and many other examples of sheer scientific incompetence have been glossed over in the passion for "broadmindedness." A genuine scholar is never broadminded about the truth. He is quite intolerant in demanding adherence to facts. He is understandably diffident about his personal theories and opinions, but he would have no sympathy with lying propaganda, whether it relates to Communism, capitalism, or Confucianism.

We need not assume that all Communist propaganda which exists in our colleges and universities stems from the few professors who promote this line. Previously indoctrinated Communist students often take advantage of the lack of political sophistication among fellow students. They become active in debating societies, student publications, and campus organizations. Using the same tactics that Reds use to take over labor unions, these zealots often attain positions of influence and power. A prominent midwestern university suspended its student paper in 1951 because of clear Communist control. In other cases, Communist lecturers have been invited by student groups. Evidently our high schools have not yet trained the average American student to cope with the carefully coached handful of Communist students at the college level.

A difficult problem concerns loyalty oaths for teachers and censorship of university lecturers. The loyalty oath is not presumed to exclude Communists directly; it is too well known that they would perjure themselves. But it can have the indirect effect of excluding them when the penalty for perjury is severe.

At the same time, it stirs up considerable resentment among loyal professors, who object to being stigmatized as a suspect group. It is questionable whether or not the gains achieved by such an oath outweigh its disadvantages. A preferable approach would be a clear decision on the matter of academic competence of professors who are Communists or sympathizers. In most cases such persons could be excluded on the grounds that they are unscientific in their fields, that they bring extraneous propaganda into their classes, or that they hurt the reputation of the college or university. This test of competent, scientific teaching would exclude any pro-Communist teacher who is actually peddling deception and untruths to his students. Self-imposed codes by professional associations could meet this problem and avoid the need for outside intervention.

Censorship of Lecturers

As for bringing Communist lecturers or the like into universities, again the rigid application of scientific standards would avoid

most problems. No competent university department would bring in quack lecturers. The astronomy department would not call in an astrologer, nor would chemistry invite a speaker who happened to believe in alchemy. Likewise no respectable school would bring in a bigot to tell lies about Jews, Negroes or Catholics. In strictly debatable fields, a good teacher presents fairly both sides of a question. If these principles were applied, there would be little danger that hidden Communists would be brought in as objective speakers. If there were need for an *open* presentation of the Communist position, by an admitted Communist, there would be less room to object. In such a case, an equally competent speaker should be secured to present the other side of the case.

The trouble with some of our school administrators is that they often have been on the defensive in the matter of Communism. They apply a double standard to Communism, as compared with other crackpot ideas. Few professors waste their time with the occasional crank who gets into a class and manages to have distorted views on every subject. But if the distortion takes the form of Communism, then at once many teachers feel that they must be "broadminded" and make every concession, no matter how it outrages their scientific sense. Of course, there is no objection to having courses on Communism, in which the subject is presented objectively, with the use of original sources when necessary. We have no fear that a fair discussion of Communism would prejudice any normal person either against our economic system or against democracy. Our plea to the teaching profession is, not to be unscientific, but rather to apply to Communism the same objectivity which it obtains in other fields. We would not fear the results of free discussion by competent professors. But our sense of fairness rebels against the picture of a professor, who does have certain advantages over his students, indoctrinating them in a pattern of lies or half-truths. Had there been less of this, the government officials who are products of our universities might have evolved a more realistic policy towards Communism during the last two decades.*

*Weighing his words carefully, Gordon Gray, in his inaugural address as President of the University of North Carolina, stated as follows: "But the closed mind will not yield, and the Communist mind is a closed mind. And for the reason that, often, this insidious influence does not manifest itself, the counteracting pressures cannot come into play. The healthful rays of sunlight have little effect upon the underside of an anchored rock. Frequently academic freedom, which must be preserved at all costs, has been used as a cloak to give a sort of immunity to Communists and their side-car passengers. I cannot believe that firmness toward Communists, prudently exercised, violates the principle of unfettered research, and the pursuit of truth. I cannot believe that any university must reach into the ranks of those who are disloyal to American principles to develop a dedicated, independent faculty. . . . We shall not provide asylums for those who would extinguish the lights of liberty. . . ."

The Soviet Union has successfully propagated the view both here and throughout much of the world that it comes in the name of peace, justice, equality and human liberation. The tragedy is that for many years too many of our public officials, educated individuals in and from our universities, writers, radio commentators, other opinion-makers and intellectuals generally, accepted this line, virtually without looking at the realities. *This has been the greatest and most successful hoax in history.* While much research has been undertaken to show how this hoax was planned and developed, nothing or almost nothing has been done to research, explore and expose *the reasons for the extremely high threshold of gullibility and credulity on* the part of the individuals who became our native Communists and fellow travelers, and their companions and dupes.

What About Dupes?

THERE IS, of course, an important difference between a fellow traveler and a dupe who has been misled by the Communists. The former is intellectually or emotionally sympathetic to Communism, although he has not joined the party. He will persistently further known Communist causes and give aid and comfort to these causes. Such persons are often more valuable to the Communist Party than its own enrolled members. They give respectability to Communist aims. When they are rightly placed, they are effective espionage agents or promoters of Communist policy. This type obviously has no place in govern-

ment. Nor would a respectable school or university, research agency, publishing firm, broadcasting company, or any other agency for molding public opinion, knowingly employ such persons. They cannot be intellectually honest or basically loyal.

The dupe presumably is neither disloyal nor dishonest. His weakness is not in the heart, but in the mind. He may well be excused from disloyalty by asserting, as is frequently done, that he signed for a Communist front or petition in ignorance of its source. But, if such deception is frequent or important, what of his judgment? This question especially should be asked regarding government officials on the policy level. Are we so hard-pressed that we cannot find competent persons for important posts, persons who not only oppose Communism in principle, but who have had the intelligence to spot and avoid concealed Communist causes?

An analogy might clarify this point. We might, with apologies to our inebriated brethren, compare Communists with alcoholics. A Communist or a confirmed fellow traveler might be considered the equivalent of a chronic alcoholic. Such persons are normally excluded from wide ranges of public and private employment. The dupe is more like the occasional alcoholic who sometimes overestimates his capacity. Such a person should never be employed as a railroad engineer, an airplane pilot or a bus driver. Too much is at stake for us to take the chance. Certainly policy-making officials in areas affecting national security are as important as pilots, engineers, and bus drivers.

Continuing the example, in the current "hysteria" controversy, the "liberal" and "civil rights" groups would demand that we prove an individual to be a chronic alcoholic, before we refuse him employment as a pilot or engineer. On the other side, some extremists among the anti-Communists ignore the many degrees of alcoholism. They put the heavy social drinker, the occasional alcoholic, and the chronic alcoholic in the same boat. A few—those who equate all forms of social and economic dissent with Communism—would be like those who consider all drinkers equally bad. The conclusion is clear. Just as present-day society has reached a better understanding on alcoholism,

so should it distinguish the degrees and importance of Communist affiliation.

When it comes to the employment of persons who have been frequently deceived by Communists, fairness demands a different treatment. Such persons usually have shown gullibility and lack of good judgment. These defects of character should be no bar to certain types of public and private employment. For government jobs, the key question would be the nature of the position to be filled. It would seem a matter of common sense not to give a policy position, which might have direct or indirect bearing on Communism, to a person who has shown consistent bad judgment on the subject. But, for example, no reasonable person would bar a loyal but misguided biologist, who had been duped by Communist peace "fronts," from a scientific post with an agricultural extension service. An individual with a similar record might be quite unsuitable for State Department work.

The same test can be applied to private employment. In many positions, gullibility and poor judgment on Communism would have no relevance. For example, such dupes would be fairly harmless as a rule in private industry. They would not be much danger, were they to join a labor union. It is the fanatical Communist or the confirmed sympathizer who causes trouble in the labor movement. As editors, researchers or librarians, dupes might be more harmful. They might serve as unconscious transmission belts for deceptive types of Communist propaganda. Nevertheless, with dupes any decision is bound to be based on evaluation of an individual. Some may have been "burned" and learned their lesson thoroughly. Others are still apologists for Communism. Each must be considered on his merits.

Opposition from "Liberal" and "Civil Rights" Groups

THE EXISTENCE of bad judgment among chronic signers and fellow travelers must be emphasized. There exists today a per-

sistent attempt to create the myth of a mass hysteria sweeping the nation in regard to Communism. It is alleged that guilt by association is the order of the day. Actually the hysteria exists mostly among the "liberal" and "civil rights" groups who often decry a minor or nonexistent evil. That there have been isolated but prominent abuses among anti-Communists, no intelligent person would deny. But the effort to swing to the other extreme by giving mass absolution to all who associated with Communist causes is equally reprehensible, prompted, as it often is, by guilty consciences on the part of the criers of hysteria.

Much ado is made these days about "guilt by association." Judging people "by the company they keep" has a long record!

It is claimed that persons are wronged when attention is drawn to a long history of association with Communist causes. One writer endeavoring to discredit attempts to expose fellow travelers used the fallacious syllogism: All Communists believe in peace. All clergymen believe in peace. Therefore all clergymen are Communists. Such arguments are more clever than profound. The fact of consistent association with Communists or their aims has many implications which cannot be laughed off. If the association is conscious and voluntary, it at least indicates failure to understand and evaluate Communism. A person who really knows Communism would realize the folly of working with Communists, even on ostensibly good causes. At most, such knowing and willing association would indicate a fellow traveler.

When the association with Communists is unconscious and involuntary, there arises a question as to the judgment and sagacity of the person who has been duped. No bank would employ as a teller a person who associates with thieves or gamblers. No church would tolerate an employee who consorted consistently with immoral and dissolute companions. Likewise our government should be able to consider associations as *one* factor in appraising judgment, competence, and loyalty.

Are Americans Terrorized?

IT IS PRESENTLY necessary to rededicate ourselves to fighting Communism, precisely because of the power and deceitfulness of the Communist counterattack. Few persons defend Communism in America today. But there are many books and articles attacking alleged "thought control," "the wave of terror," and other so-called denials of civil liberties. All the catchwords are used: "enforced orthodoxy," "guilt by association," "a mania for secrecy among scientists," and "punishment for thinking."

One characteristic of this type of attack is that its proponents usually begin by disavowing any sympathy for Communism. Then follows the key word: *But.* Next there is an attack on any and all measures for combatting Communism. Here the normal technique is "smear by association." Some extreme anti-Communist is shown to be in error and possibly irresponsible. Then all anti-Communist measures are lumped together into the same "vicious" pattern. These authors have a special dispensation to use smear, innuendo, name-calling, and similar devices for which they attack their opponents.

These defenders of civil liberties remain curiously silent when some anti-Communist loses a job or is otherwise penalized for expressing his thoughts. These same defenders are not horrified when employees of the Internal Revenue Bureau are summarily fired without a hearing or trial. They are most vocal in *denying* freedom of speech to such vicious elements as anti-Semites, Ku Kluxers, bigots, and so-called native fascists. But they have a soft spot for Communists and their sympathizers. They foresee horrendous consequences in such a mild piece of legislation as the Internal Security Act of 1950. This was merely an intellectual version of the Pure Food and Drugs Acts: it required the Communists to register and to label their propaganda correctly. This law has been widely misrepresented by many who never took the trouble to read it.

Another famous instance of smear of anti-Communists was the call for an investigation of the so-called "China Lobby." This made startling headlines for weeks, but then suddenly

died down. It was discovered that the persons who were fighting for a free China were not bought and paid lobbyists, but only sincere American believers in freedom. But in the meantime, the desired innuendo and smear had been achieved. Of course, two wrongs do not make a right. There have been irresponsible charges of Communism. But the professional defenders of civil liberty often do not practice what they preach. They automatically assume the innocence of all alleged Communist sympathizers, no matter what the documentation offered to support the charges. Equally they assume that all anti-Communists are irresponsible slandermongers, merely because some have been careless in making charges.

Many liberals, including one prominent industrialist, have fallen for the Communist bait of attacking former Communists as unreliable. Such converts are abused as "professional informers." As Eugene Lyons put it: "Few accused or even proven Stalin agents have suffered a tithe of the putrid abuse that has been the lot of people like Louis Budenz, Elizabeth Bentley, Whittaker Chambers, Joe Zack, Benjamin Gitlow, Paul Crouch." * In fact, our best source of information about our underground enemy is the group of converts to freedom and democracy. The F.B.I. has seen fit to use them and has methods of checking their stories. It is unlikely that such persons would have been used in important grand jury cases were they unreliable. Abuse leveled against such persons discourages prospective converts from leaving the Party, much less assisting our government in prosecuting traitors. In this matter again certain "liberals" are giving aid and comfort to Communism.

One further illustration shows the inconsistency of many "liberal" groups. Only a few years ago, it was considered bad manners to attack Communists in the C.I.O. Now that the shoe is on the other foot, tactics have changed considerably. Not only is the C.I.O. using the Communist issue to the hilt in its raiding campaigns, but its leaders have attacked industry for not turning over Red locals on silver platters. Normally, they are

*"Our New Privileged Class," *American Legion Magazine*, September, 1951.

the first to protest alleged employer domination over unions.*

The inconsistencies and negativeness of many "liberal" attacks on anti-Communists could normally be overlooked. But today such attacks give comfort to the Reds, at a time when they have few other defenders. Moreover, they might frighten off many who wish to oppose Communism, but fear to be tagged as opponents of liberty. Hence it is well to label certain muddled liberals correctly. They must be considered as completely negative in the face of conspiracy, subversion, and treason.** Moreover, the concerted attack on those who would control Communism fits in perfectly with Communist plans. As early as 1948, when the Communist Party feared that it would be driven underground, its instructions to its members were to concentrate in the "civil liberties" field. Is it merely a coincidence that today we have thousands of so-called "liberals," for example, Americans for Democratic Action, who are fighting the Communist battle precisely in this field?

A special form of "liberal" assistance to Communism was the trend in the book reviewing field during the last ten years. Until very recently, leftist and pro-Communist books received favorable reviews from the most important book review publications. Anti-Communist books were often either ignored or reviewed very unfairly. For example, a study of reviews on books dealing with China during the period 1945-1951 showed two facts. First, books favorable to the Communists were widely hailed in our own newspapers and periodicals, whereas those favoring the Nationalists were either passed by or vilified. Secondly, major book review sources entrusted these reviews to the pro-Communist clique. They naturally favored their group

* The C.I.O. in its 1951 Annual Convention violently attacked the 1950 Internal Security Act. See *Proceedings*, 1951. Likewise, A.D.A has demanded the repeal of the Smith Act, stating that it "opposes the Smith Act because it proposes to prosecute people for what they think or say rather than what they do." This is one of those "clever" half-truths encouraging paralysis in counteraction efforts.

**An excellent study of the liberal smear campaign was made in the St. Louis Union Trust Company *Letter*, September, 1951.

and attacked their opponents. This in turn affected bookstores, librarians and, ultimately, public opinion.*

Checklist on Civil Liberties

IN NOTING THAT the professional defenders of civil liberties themselves follow a double standard, we do not wish to appear cynical on the subject. On the contrary it is vital that we preserve these foundations of American freedom. Those who misuse these great amendments to defend treason are the real opponents of civil liberties. By creating the feeling that we are helpless to proceed against Communists and their allies by legal means, these misguided liberals may drive some frustrated patriots to impulsive actions. Accordingly, to avoid any misunderstanding, let us make our position completely clear.

1. Civil Rights. We favor full freedom of speech, publication, assembly, and political action. The only limitations we would place are those which our legal traditions have continuously sanctioned. These freedoms must not be misused to commit crime, to injure the rights of others, or to promote actions which would destroy these very freedoms.

2. Guilt by Association. We believe that an individual should be judged by his actions only. But it is a recognized point of criminal law that associations form part of the actions by which character can be judged. Association forms an important element in judging credibility of witnesses, in determining parole, and in sentencing for crimes. It also is used widely in everyday life. Association with Communists is a factor to be explained by an individual who has taken this step.

3. Penalizing Political Beliefs. We believe in full freedom for any political party, provided only that it adheres to the democratic ideals. We do not believe that Communists or other totalitarians are political parties in the framework of the American Constitution. They are agents

*For startling revelations see: I. C. Kuhn, "Why You Buy Books that Sell Communism," *American Legion Magazine*, January, 1951; Senator Owen Brewster, "A Guidebook to Ten Years of Secrecy in our China Policy," *Congressional Record*, June 5, 1951, pp. 6297-6302; John T. Flynn, *While You Slept*, Devin-Adair, 1951; and Ralph de Toledano, "Gravediggers of America," *American Mercury*, July-August, 1951.

of a foreign power, dedicated to the overthrow of our freedoms and democratic political processes.

4. Thought Control. We believe in full freedom of thought and honest expression of views, within the framework of our libel and sedition laws. At the same time we hold that fraudulent and deceptive advocacy of Communism or its tenets should be exposed. On the basis of scientific competence and commercial honesty, no school, publisher, radio station or research organization should employ a person who is out to deceive the public. Nor should government employ persons who espouse Communist ideas. Ideas and ideals are the roots of action. Common prudence tells us not to hire potential traitors for public service.

5. Freedom of Speech. Freedom of speech is an essential basis for our other freedoms. But freedom of speech does not imply the right to a captive audience. Nor does it give a person the automatic right to the indirect sanction by reputable sponsorship of a talk. Denial of facilities to Communists by schools, radio stations, or reputable hotels or auditoriums are not infringements upon the *rights* to free speech. No one has an absolute right to reputable sponsorship or a partially captive audience.

6. Mania for Secrecy. We regret the shackles of censorship upon certain scientific activities. In time of peace we would oppose all such controls. But in the twilight zone of cold war and Soviet espionage, national security may demand unusual precautions.

7. Fear and Hysteria. We believe that the charges of fear reigning in government and academic circles are wildly exaggerated. Possibly the charges have been so widely circulated by liberal groups that repetition produces credence. At any rate, the best antidote to fear of the unknown is the light of facts. Honest and competent exposure of Communism would uncover the few thousand termites and leave the rest of us in peace.

Upon these principles we rest our case for civil liberties. We do not believe that fearless exposure and prosecution of our enemies will endanger the freedoms of patriotic citizens. Which community has greater peace of mind: One in which criminals run loose? Or one in which crime is fearlessly exposed? With the fear of subversion and treason gone, our liberties will be brighter than ever before.

What You Should Do

THE WIDESPREAD REACTION against Communism should be no excuse for complacency and inaction. Communists are most dangerous when their victims are overconfident. They are unbelievably resourceful and innovative in developing new tactics when their previous techniques fail or are exposed.

Above all, it is necessary to avoid the delusion that the government has the whole matter under control. Even were the government vigilant in enforcing existing laws, there are whole areas which are not, in peacetime, suitable for legal control. As an example, we do not want detailed government censorship of radio and TV. But everyone concerned—radio executives, sponsors, and listeners—should be vigilant in excluding Communists from the air, except when speaking openly as such. This applies, not merely to commentators, but also to artists and writers who otherwise would get prestige and funds for the Party. This is a clear area for private action.

There are three broad fields for community activity regarding Communism. We are called upon to know the enemy; to protect ourselves against his attacks; and to counterattack in an organized and orderly fashion.

Knowing Communism means detailed information about the theory, practice, and current moves of the Communists here and abroad. This information should be made available to schools and libraries as well as to private persons. It can be brought in by lectures, books, and magazines. Much of it can be included in general publications if a demand exists.

Protection against Communism in the community means an awareness of the possible sources of infiltration. There are many Communist sympathizers in the lecture circuits today. Some librarians favor pro-Communist literature. A few schools and several universities have Red sympathizers on their staffs. It is possible that mass entertainment sources may either contain Communist propaganda or support the cause by using sympathizers as artists or writers. Labor unions, youth groups or minority groups may be infiltrated. "Front" organizations may be

meeting in local hotels or meeting halls. Prompt community action can often prevent or expose such activities.

Finally, a counterattack can be mounted on various levels. Local groups can band together to bring in speakers, make books and periodicals available, and take action against various types of infiltration. The all-important function of letter writing can bring influence to bear at national levels, whether in the halls of Congress or in the offices of national organizations and firms. Support can be given to reputable national organizations fighting Communism here or abroad.

How To Do It

1. Get information yourself. Subscribe to one of the avowedly anti-Communist newsletters or magazines listed later. Circulate it. See that it is in school and public libraries. Read some of the better books. Be sure that libraries carry them. If funds are low, have local community groups donate these books to school and public libraries.

2. Bring in competent lecturers to discuss phases of Communism. Make your requirements crystal clear to lecture bureaus. This has a twofold purpose: by creating a market, you build up a corps of good lecturers on Communism; by rejecting straddlers and Red sympathizers, you discourage lecture bureaus from promoting such speakers. Be very definite and hard-boiled on this subject with agents of lecture bureaus. They exist to serve the public, not to foist concealed Communist sympathizers upon it.

3. Learn to detect Communist propaganda and distinguish it from other forms of social dissent. Insist that your local school and library system be free from Communists or those who preach their ideas. Find out the attitudes of private schools, colleges, and universities before sending your children to one of them. Remember, many of the recently exposed spies and traitors learned Communism in "very respectable" schools.

4. Foster an attitude which may be called: Watch before you sign; look before you join. We teach traffic caution. We have Better Business Bureaus to expose fraudulent concerns and appeals. Safety measures do not discourage traffic. Business caution does not hurt honest businessmen. Caution in signing or joining will not hurt reputable organizations.

5. Consider whether or not you can be helpful in fighting Communist infiltration in labor, youth or minority groups. Special techniques are needed here, especially to handle the machine-politics methods of Communist cells. Bring in experts, if necessary, to advise you on such situations.

6. Get an adequate supply of writing paper and stamps. Then write to magazines, newspapers, members of Congress, and any non-Communist firm or organization which may carelessly be aiding the Communist cause. America is still free and the customer is still king. But write at once. Postponed letters are rarely written.

7. If you have a persistent problem of Communism in your community, you may need formal organization and organized action. Suggestions for this were given in *A Program for Community Anti-Communist Action*. At any rate, form some basis for common action among business, labor, service, veteran, patriotic, and religious groups to unite to fight Communism locally. At the very least, funds can be raised to bring in lecturers and give books and periodicals to schools and libraries.

8. Take an interest in our foreign policy. Remember that in a democracy it is not only your right, but also your duty to take part in these vital decisions. But to decide wisely, you must be informed. Insist on your right to know the basic facts of your government's foreign policy. Let your congressman and senator know your views.

Stay on the Job

WE SHOULD NOT REST until Communism is wiped out in America. This is not only possible but is entirely consistent with the true principles of Americanism. Communism is un-American in that it is completely opposed to the basic concepts of individual freedom and representative government by and for the people, to which we are committed. It cannot develop deep roots in America unless, by default, we permit it to do so.

There have been times when the Communist Party was almost finished here. It would not be too hard, if we all worked at it, to starve it financially and leave it a disorganized group of powerless fanatics. If every source of funds and power were systematically cut off, the Party would be weakened to the point of extinction. Enforcement of the Smith Act and the Internal Security Act of 1950 would leave the Party leaderless and dispersed. Such should be our goal. This is one war in which total victory and unconditional surrender is the only sane objective.

Even a few but active Communists and fellow travelers in labor unions and in opinion-making groups can continuously drive and pull non-Communist groups and individuals ever more Leftward by outpromising and outbidding them. Socialism may be a mere prelude to Communism.*

It is the duty of every loyal American to lend a hand in this battle. The security of our nation is our business. It is a task which should not be left completely in the hands of a few public employees or even a few patriotic groups. All of us are threatened by this menace. All must act to save each of us from the bondage and slavery which would be our lot under Communist imperialism, as attested by the thousands of individuals who have somehow escaped from the tyranny within the Iron Curtain.

For us it is not yet too late to act. Additional steps to be taken are outlined in the Appendices which follow.

---

*For the reasons see: "Socialism: Prelude to Communism," Appendix B, page 53.

APPENDIX A

Check of Anti-Communist Activities

The following assembles the suggestions given in this brochure. No single individual normally could do all the things listed here. But each can help. If the effort is organized, there is less danger that important points will be neglected.

a. Know Your Enemy

1. Subscribe to a good newsletter or magazine specializing on Communist exposure which gives facts and suggestions on Communism.
2. Read one or more books on Communism each month.
3. See that books and periodicals exposing Communism are in school and public libraries.
4. Bring good lecturers to your community.
5. Ask opinion-influencing media, such as newspapers, magazines, and radio, to carry useful material on Communism. Praise them when they do so.
6. Be sure that your local bookstores feature good books exposing Communism.

b. Stop, Look, and Listen

1. Be on the alert for Communist sympathizers in your community, especially those who can mold youth or public opinion. A Communist line from teachers, lecturers, librarians, writers or commentators is dangerous.
2. Be as cautious in sponsoring movements as you would be in signing a business contract. Look before you sign or join.
3. Find out from reputable sources, such as *Counterattack*, *Alert* or the American Legion about Communist sympathizers in the entertainment field. When sure of the facts protest to *sponsors* about such employment.
4. Identify public officials and policies displaying softness towards Communism. Demand a more patriotic attitude.

5. Ask questions before you send your children to a college or university. Avoid schools which tolerate pro-Communist professors. Bring this subject up at alumni meetings. Find out what is being taught in schools you support.
6. Urge bookstores not to feature books which aid Communism, even though their authors may not be Party members.

c. Be Active

1. Support organizations which are fighting Communist infiltration. Suggest that schools give students practice in parliamentary law and practice, so that these students can run their organizations and papers without Communist infiltration.
2. Assist, as your position allows, efforts to free labor unions from Communist control or to prevent such infiltration.
3. Get the habit of writing to newspapers, magazines, and public officials to protest aid to Communism. Praise sound anti-Communist moves. Write at once: delayed letters are rarely written.
4. Demand enforcement of existing laws designed to control Communism.
5. Give and get financial support for competent private groups fighting Communism.
6. Coordinate on a local level the anti-Communist activities of private groups. Urge joint action on higher levels. Favor small but active committees.
7. Report evidence of espionage and sabotage to the F.B.I.
8. Urge that schools and colleges teach *facts* about Communism.
9. Take a strong and informed interest in American foreign policy.
10. Publicize activities of Communist fronts in your community. Be sure of your facts. Get advice on libel.
11. Have the courage to act in face of possible smears and slander from Communist sympathizers. Support patriotic ex-Communists who co-operate with the F.B.I.
12. Be alert regarding Communist efforts to promote racial or religious bigotry or to infiltrate minority groups. Fight trends towards disunity.
13. Check "peace" groups. Do they take the stand that Russia is always right and we are always wrong? There are many reputable peace organizations; but Communists are also promoting appeasement in the guise of peace.

14. Never use the term "Communist" loosely or inaccurately. Misuse of the term only gains friends for Communism.
15. Consider anti-Communist action as your personal responsibility. What is everybody's business is often never done. But organized efforts can be more effective and efficient.

d. Suggested Reading*

1. NEWSLETTERS AND MAGAZINES

Alert (Los Angeles 12, California: 127 South Broadway, monthly, $3.00 per year). Emphasizes West Coast and motion-picture aspects of Communist activities. A vigorous crusading group.

Counterattack (New York: 55 West 42nd St., weekly, $24.00 a year). This weekly newsletter has proved its accuracy and effectiveness. Prepared by former F.B.I. agents. Information and research service available: cost proportioned to time needed.

The Freeman (New York: 240 Madison Ave., fortnightly, $5.00 per year). Hardhitting, intelligently edited anti-Communist and anticollectivist journal. Should be in every library.

Intelligence Digest (New York: 7023 Empire State Building, monthly, $10.00 a year). A British publication reflecting the excellent intelligence services built up by our allies. Contains original information and valuable interpretation in the area of world Communism.

National Republic (Washington, D. C., 511 Eleventh St., N. W., monthly, $2.00 a year; also offers a weekly LETTERGRAM, combined subscription, $10.00 a year). A patriotic magazine with much emphasis on Communism.

The New Leader (New York: 7 East 15th St., weekly, $3.00 a year). One of the best magazines for exposing Communism. Excellent writers. The domestic policies of this publication veer towards socialism. But it is a good example of anti-Communist liberal publications.

*This reading list is small and selective. In the book section, preference is given to more recent publications. For a more complete book list, consult the bibliographies of earlier publications of the United States Chamber of Commerce, as listed below. Order directly from publisher in each case or borrow from your library.

Newsletter from Behind the Iron Curtain (Stockholm 1, Sweden: *The Baltic Review*, Post-box 724, weekly, $10 per year). Reports on life under Soviet rule. Excellent materials for speeches and articles.

Summary of Trends and Developments Exposing the Communist Conspiracy (Indianapolis, Ind., Americanism Division, The American Legion National Headquarters, monthly, $3.00 a year. Subscription available only to Legionnaires and law-enforcement officers.) This is one of the most valuable single sources on both world and domestic Communism. You might borrow a copy if you are not eligible to subscribe to it.

2. PAMPHLETS

Brief on Communism, Marxism & Leninism (American Bar Association, September 17, 1951, 60 pages). Reports and recommendations of the Special Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy and Objectives.

Communist Infiltration in the United States (Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington 6, D. C., 38 pages, 10¢). A thorough study, highly recommended in the Press and in Congress. More than 680,000 copies have been distributed. Experts have called it accurate and well-balanced. A best seller in its field. Annotated bibliography.

Communist Trade Union Trickery Exposed, by Karl Baarslag (Washington, D. C.: Argus Advisory Associates, Box 174, Benj. Franklin Station, $1.00). Excellent.

Communists Within the Government (Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington 6, D. C., 57 pages, 50¢). A thorough study of the problem, with detailed recommendations as to remedies. Contains a wealth of specific references. Five appendices, annotated bibliography.

Communists Within the Labor Movement (Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington 6, D. C., 60 pages, 25¢). A handbook which tells workers and employers how to recognize Communists in unions and how to rid unions of them. Annotated bibliography.

A Program for Community Anti-Communist Action (Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington 6, D. C., 56 pages, 50¢). A detailed program by which a community may fight Communism on its chosen battleground, at the local level. How to get the facts, inform the public, protect your community. Appendices, suggested basic library on Communism.

Socialism In America (Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington 6, D. C., 74 pages, 50¢). A survey of the development of socialist ideas and programs in America. Includes sections on controlism, socialist criticisms of capitalism, the British experiment in Socialism, what Socialism means to the individual, and what to do about Socialism in America. Appendix on the free market. Annotated bibliography.

The Welfare State and the State of Human Welfare (Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington 6, D. C., 60 pages, 50¢). Sets forth the nature of the welfare state and the nature of the choices before us.

3. BOOKS

a. Communist Theory and Soviet Practice

Communism, Its Plans and Tactics (Washington: Infantry Journal Press, $2.00). The report of the Bolton Committee dealing with the plans of world Communism, as logical results of Communist theory. 1948.

COUNTS, GEORGE S. and NUCIA LODGE, **Country of the Blind** (New York: Houghton-Mifflin, $4.00). Treats of the shackles put upon thought in the Soviet Union. This is must reading for teachers, especially those with leftist sympathies. 1949, 378 p.

CRANKSHAW, EDWARD, **Cracks in the Kremlin Wall** (New York: Viking, $3.50). A different point of view, which emphasizes Russian rather than Communist characteristics of the Soviet Union. Author considers Soviet military world aggression unlikely. 1951, 279 p.

DALLIN, DAVID and BORIS I. NIKOLAEVSKII, **Forced Labor in Soviet Union** (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, $3.75). Considered the classic study of the most extensive modern system of slavery. 1948, 331 p.

DALLIN, DAVID J., **New Soviet Empire** (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, $3.75). Portrays the results of Soviet expansionist policy and exploitation of the satellites. 1951, 216 p.

DENNETT, RAYMOND and JOSEPH E. JOHNSON (ed.), **Negotiating with the Russians** (Boston: World Peace Foundation, $3.50). Ten Americans who have had important experience negotiating with the Soviet tell their story. Useful antidote to the theory that all differences with Russia can be solved by negotiation. 1951, 310 p.

HUNT, R. N. CAREW, **Theory and Practice of Communism** (New York, Macmillan, $2.75). Studies Marxism, early European Socialism, Leninism, and Stalinism. Also notes effects of Soviet practice on Marxist theory, 1950, 231 p.

SCHWARTZ, HARRY, **Russia's Soviet Economy** (New York: Prentice-Hall, $6.65). One of the best and most recent studies of actual economic conditions in the Soviet Union. 1950, 592 p.

SCHWARZ, SOLOMON N., **Jews in the Soviet Union** (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press, $5.00). A careful analysis of the data concerning Jewish life in the Soviet Union. Useful for dispelling myth that there is no discrimination in Russia. Shows that Jews are persecuted and excluded from positions of power in present-day Russia. 1951, 380 p.

SHUB, DAVID, **Lenin, A Biography** (New York: Doubleday, $5.00). A masterful study of the man who molded the beginnings of Russian Communism. Valuable also for a study of Communist tactics. 1948, 438 p.

SHUB, BORIS, and BERNARD QUINT, **Since Stalin, A Photo History of Our Time** (New York: Swen Publications, $3.95). A well annotated collection of photos which portray graphically the rise of Russian Communism. Powerful in its cumulative impact. 1951, 184 p.

WALSH, EDMUND, **Total Empire** (Milwaukee: Bruce, $3.50). Likewise emphasizes Russian element in Soviet expansion. Considers the Kremlin, not the Russian people, our enemy. 1951, 293 p.

b. The Communist Empire

EBON, MARTIN, **World Communism Today** (New York: McGraw-Hill, $5.00). A world-wide survey of Communist parties. Somewhat dated since its publication in 1948, but still useful. 536 p.

HUNTER, EDWARD, **Brain-washing in Red China** (New York: Vanguard, $3.50). Shows the course of the present purge in the second most important Communist power. Likewise shows the thorough Communism of Red Chinese leaders. 1951. 311 p.

MACEÓIN, GARY and ZOMBORY, AKOS, **Communist War on Religion** (New York: Devin-Adair, $3.50). Valuable documentation of Communist persecution of religious groups in both the Soviet Union and the satellite countries. 1951. 264 p.

MARKHAM, REUBEN, **Rumania Under the Soviet Yoke** (Boston: Meador, $4.00). This final work of a distinguished correspondent pictures the transformation of Rumania under the impact of Communism. 1949, 601 p.

MIKOLAJCZYK, STANISLAW, **Rape of Poland:** Pattern of Soviet Aggression (New York: McGraw-Hill, $4.00). The former premier of Poland explains the steps leading to the subjugation of his people. 1948, 309 p.

NAGY, FERENC, **Struggle Behind the Iron Curtain** (New York: Macmillan, $6.00). How Hungary was taken over and subdued by the Soviets. The writer was prime minister at the time. 1948, 471 p. (Trans. from Hungarian by Stephen K. Swift.)

Report on China (Philadelphia: Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, September, 1951, $2.00). A middle-of-the-road study of the China problem. While it by no means absolves American policy makers, it is less severe than Miss Utley in her judgments. 291 p.

ROSSI, ANGELO, **Communist Party in Action** (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, $4.00). This study concentrates upon France, but the pattern used there is similar to that obtaining elsewhere. This book is highly recommended. 1949, 301 p.

SCHWARTZ, BENJAMIN, **Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao** (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, $4.50).

This historical study dispels the myth that the Chinese Communists were ever "agrarian reformers," even though important policy makers in the U.S.A. once believed this. 1951, 258 p.

Soviet Imperialism Plunders Asia (New York: Free Trade Union Committee, 1710 Broadway, $1.00). The American Federation of Labor tells the story of Communism in Asia. 1951.

UTLEY, FREDA. **China Story** (Chicago: Regnery, $3.50). A strongly anti-State Department presentation of the recent events in China and American policy there. 1951, 274 p.

c. Exposés by Former Communists

BENTLEY, ELIZABETH, **Out of Bondage** (New York: Devin-Adair, $3.50). Soviet espionage in the United States, pictured by a former courier for the spy network. 1951, 311 p.

BUDENZ, LOUIS F., **Men Without Faces** (New York: Harper, $3.50). More information on the inside workings of the American Communist Party. 1950, 305 p.

CALOMIRIS, ANGELA, **Red Masquerade:** Undercover for the F.B.I. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, $3.00). Life as a Communist told by a photographer who also worked for the F.B.I. while in the Communist Party. 1950. 284 p.

GITLOW, BENJAMIN, **Whole of Their Lives** (New York: Scribner, $3.50). The workings of American Communism, as seen by a former official of the Party. 1948, 387 p.

HYDE, DOUGLAS, **I Believed** (New York: Putnam, $3.50). One of the most satisfactory autobiographies of a leading English-speaking Communist. Hyde formerly edited the London *Daily Worker* (Communist). 1950, 312 p.

KRAVCHENKO, VICTOR A., **I Chose Freedom** (New York: Scribner, $3.50). 1946, 496 p., and **I Chose Justice** (New York: Scribner, $3.75). 1950, 458 p. An account of Soviet tyranny by a former official of Moscow, plus a story of the Paris trial which vindicated the author. Among the best accounts of life under Communism.

PHILBRICK, HERBERT A. **I Led Three Lives** (New York: McGraw-Hill, $3.50). Offers valuable and intimately first-hand information on the nature of the Communist conspiracy in this

country and "the concentric circles of conspiracy" in which it operates. The author worked for the F.B.I. while in the Party. 1952, 323 p.

d. Communism and the United States

De Toledano, Ralph and Victor Lasky, **Seeds of Treason** (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, $3.50). An account of the Alger Hiss trial and its background. As interesting as a novel, but packed with lessons on the dangers of Communist penetration into government positions. 1950, 270 p.

Flynn, John T., **While You Slept** (New York: Devin-Adair, $2.50). A scathing indictment of Administration handling of Communist problems during the last decade. 1951, 192 p.

Kennan, George F., **American Diplomacy,** 1900-1950 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, $2.75). The author of the "containment policy" towards Russia examines American diplomatic policies and offers some constructive criticism. 1951, 146 p.

Nolan, William A., **Communism Versus the Negro** (Chicago: Regnery, $3.50). A thorough study of Communist propaganda tactics designed to win the Negro. The author shows that these tactics have failed to achieve any notable success. 1951, 276 p.

Shub, Boris, **Choice** (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, $2.75). Suggestions for psychological warfare against the Kremlin. 1950, 205 p.

Smith, Walter Bedell, **My Three Years in Moscow** (Philadelphia: Lippincott, $3.75). In addition to description of life in Russia, as seen by our ambassador, there are recommendations regarding American policy towards the Soviet Union. 1950, 346 p.

Spolansky, Jacob, **Communist Trail in America** (New York: Macmillan, $3.50). The story of a former government agent and his experiences in dealing with Communists in the United States. 1951, 227 p.

Taft, Robert A., **Foreign Policy for Americans** (New York: Doubleday, $2.00). The leading Republican offers both a critical examination of our foreign policy and suggestions for a more stable program. 1951, 127 p.

APPENDIX B

Socialism: Prelude to Communism?

IN ITS FIVE ANTI-COMMUNIST PUBLICATIONS, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States has repeatedly warned against confusing Socialists and Communists. This warning still stands. There is, however, much evidence that the socialization of industry is a mere prelude to Communism. A recent case in point is that of Czechoslovakia, which is described in *The Strategy and Tactics of World Communism,* a 27-page report issued by the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives.

While the coup d'etat which "peacefully" converted Czechoslovakia from socialist democracy to communistic dictatorship did not occur until 1948, the record shows that the groundwork had been laid as early as 1945 when arrangements were made, under pressure from Socialists and Communists, for the nationalization of a number of industries. President Benes signed the necessary decrees.

An interesting example of what happens to the lamb when he agrees to live with the bear is given by Floyd Harper in *Liberty—a Path to Its Recovery.* Dr. Harper says:

"Jan Masaryk, the Czechoslovakian patriot, was called a great defender of freedom. But he said: '. . . Czechoslovakia must work out the synthesis between Russian socialism and Western liberty . . . I'll go all the way with Russia—all the way up to one point. Socialist economics—okay. But if anyone tries to take away our freedom—freedom to think and say what you believe—the right to your own thoughts, your own soul . . .'

"That was early in 1946. On March 10, 1948, after living for a time under the socialist economics he had okayed, Masaryk plunged to his death from his office window in Prague. We may never know what induced him to suicide, but it may well have been that he came to realize the emptiness of his hope—the hope that persons can live in liberty after they have given up economic liberty."

Meantime, Communists found it easy to infiltrate the Czech parliament and the various government ministries. When the time was ripe for the coup, it was carried off with ease, against only passive resistance on the part of the Socialists.

No Isolated Case

Czechoslovakia is not alone in its tragic history. Experience in many other nations indicates that so-called Democratic Socialism is a contradiction in terms. It is soft Communism; and it is the entering wedge for hard Communism. For many years Nationalist China both favored and practiced socialization of industry, unquestionably helping thereby to pave the way for Communist Red China.

Socialists generally are devoted to liberty and democratic processes but wherever they have to wrestle with strong minorities of Communists, the Communists tend to win out. The Socialists, who are mild mannered and slow moving, with a devotion to parliamentary procedure, are no match for Communists who are ruthless, conspiratorial, and fast on their feet.

On the economic front, however, there is *no difference* between Socialism and Communism, and there never has been—at least in practice. Both are against private ownership, favoring government operation of all productive enterprises. So, while it is always dangerous to confuse Communists and Socialists, it is important to recognize that on the economic front they are essentially identical.

Spreading the Disease

Since Socialism is basically the same as Communism, and since Socialism has shown itself in so many countries to be a preliminary symptom leading to Communism, is not the wisest procedure to avoid Socialism like the plague? Perhaps there is no inherent reason why Socialism is a prelude to Communism, but there are enough cases where this has been the historic alignment to make all thoughtful people cautious in endorsing further government participation in enterprise.

An illustration of the sequence of events in our own country may be found in the Department of Agriculture, which with its various agricultural programs during the 1930's moved with more momentum in the direction of Socialism than was true of any other phase of the New Deal. A careful examination of the government reports on Communism shows that more Communists and people accused of Communist leanings had a berth in the Department of Agriculture than in any other government department.

Recent reports from Berlin indicate that while we are struggling to prevent the spread of Communism in Europe, we are dealing with a Socialist city government which polled 66 percent of the vote in the last election.

The worldwide pattern which has developed should be obvious to anyone who takes the trouble to study it. If we are wise, we will treat Socialism as a prelude to Communism; and we will limit government to rule-making, without letting it enter directly into business.

Committee on Communism—1951-1952

M. K. M. MURPHY, *Chairman*
President, Boiling Springs Savings
and Loan Association
Rutherford, New Jersey

POWELL C. GRONER, President
Kansas City Public Service Co.
Kansas City, Missouri

FRANK W. JENKS, Vice President
International Harvester Co.
Chicago, Illinois

R. W. KEMLER, Attorney
Marshalltown, Iowa

LAURENCE F. LEE, President
Peninsular Life Insurance Co.
Jacksonville, Florida

JOHN L. LOCKE, President
and General Manager
Fisher Flouring Mills Co.
Seattle, Washington

A. L. LYNN, Vice President
Island Creek Coal Co.
Huntington, West Virginia

CHASE M. SMITH, General Counsel
Lumbermens Mutual Casualty Co.
Chicago, Illinois

EMERSON P. SCHMIDT, *Secretary*
Director of Economic Research
Chamber of Commerce of the
United States
Washington 6, D. C.

A NATIONAL FEDERATION WORKING FOR GOOD CITIZENSHIP
GOOD GOVERNMENT AND GOOD BUSINESS